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Anion.

LIBERTY, THE UNION, AND THE CONSTITUTION. VOLUME I

CITY OF WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY MORNING, MARCH 31, 1852,

CONGRESSIONAL.

SPEECH OF HON. WH H CHERCHWELL.

the Public Lands, and Mr. Johnson's Homestead Bill for the encouragement of Industry and Agriculture, delevered in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, March 30, 1859.

Mr. CHURCHWELL said :

Mr. CHURCHWELL said:
Mr. Chairmah, respect for age would seem to require
that I should yield to my honorable colleague, [Mr. WilLIAMS.] who seeks the floor; and had I my own choice, I
would much prefer to hear him, rather than speak mysell. But circumstances require that what I have to say
should be said at once, as I expect to leave the city this
evening, to be absent a few days; and knowing the liberality of my generous colleague, I shall go on and ask him
to parlon my sreming indelecacy or want of modesty and
respect, which I know he will do.
Mr. WILLIAMS. Certainly, sir; go on. I will hear
you with pleasure.

Mr. Will. LAMS. Certainty, are go on. I will hear you with pleasure.

Mr. CHURCHWELL. Mr. Chairman, bad I expected that I would be preceded by the honorable gentleman from Maine [Mr. Full.ma] with such elaborate arguments and with facts so forcibly presented, I should have trembled at the idea of throwing a lance for fear that my armor would not be sufficient to receive one in return. But if the arguments of the honorable gentleman and the positions which he assumes be correct, then I shall have no lear of what I may hereafter say as to the correctness of my positions.

no text of what I may be not support to an appoint on a positions.

I may as well say here as further on in my remarks, that I do not intend to touch politics, for the reason that think fully enough has already been said on that subject, to the very great neglect of the public business. I shall try, sir, to confine myself to the bill and subject under consideration, and, although a little contrary to our habit of late, I hope I may not be called to order for so the contrary to our habit of late, I hope I may not be called to order for so

under consideration, and, actioning in this country to out habit of late, I hope I may not be called to order for so doing. [Laughter]

The honorable gentleman from Maine [Mr. Fuller] assumes positions hostile to the homestead bill which I think are erroneous. He admits the fact that the public land belongs properly to the people. But, while he admits that fact, he denies to the people the right to dispose of that properly, and contends for the old policy, which is now no longer necessary, and which is abandoned by force of circumstances. This is a position which I am at a loss to understand. If we were starting out with our government—if this was the beginning—the first legislation on the public lands—then the argument of the gentleman from Maine might seem to be more plausible. But in this advanced state of the public mind, when our whole country has been agitated upon the great land question, it is too late to go back to first principles to arod inevitable consequences. As before stated, if we were starting now upon this great question, I would at once yield to the honorable gentleman's arguments. But such is not the case.

once yield to the honorable gentleman's arguments. But such is not the case.

The policy of the general government in regard to the proper disposition of the public lands seems now unsettled in both branches of our national assembly. At no period in the progress of the republic has there been so much anxiety manifested on this subject as at present.

The landed estate which it is proposed to divide is one of immense value, the claimants to which, and the interests involved, are so diversified and so complex that the human mind can scarcely comprehend the many bearings that a particular decision may affect and the results it may produce. The present generation is not alone interested, but the legislation on this subject is to extend to other imes, and affect future generations.

This being so, how well does it become us to exercise a wise discretion in the policy we may adopt touching the

This being so, how well does it become us to exercise a wise discretion in the policy we may adopt touching the disposition of this great government estate! The national mind seems ready for the enactment of such laws as necessity may require in the case. To dispose of the whole property (since it is no longer required to liquidate the public debts) as speedily as practicable seems to be the wish of a large number of the owners—perhaps of a majority of them—as is indicated by their immediate representatives; and, as a result of this fact, we have no less that hirty or forty schemes presented from different quartered the country, proposing to divide the property held in charge by the government for the use and benefit of the people to whom it property belongs. The day has gone by when it was thought proper to argue the proposition that the land belongs properly to the people. The time has arrived to act; let us act in a manner that will be satisfactory to an approving conscience, and allike to the country: for such legislation carries with it a responsibility of the greatest importance; by it we are to mark out the channel through which the landed interest of twenty-three millions of people, estimated at over fourteen hundred millions of people, estimated at over fourteen hundred millions of people, estimated at over fourteen hundred millions of these to so dispose of a portion of this vast property as to advance the interest of the largest number of those to whom it properly belongs, without injury to any.

Taking the results of the subject into consideration, it

to advance the interest of the largest number of those to whom it properly belongs, without injury to any. Taking this view of the subject into consideration, it may not be improper to review briefly some one or two of the many plans proposed.

Among the projects, we have one asking government land to aid in constructing a railroad across the entire continent, penetrating the mountains, bridging the rivers, and filling the valleys, until a track is graded and smooth enough for the great iron racer to run over our empire from ocean to ocean. To say no more of this scheme, the author is at least entitled to the character and credit of a bold adventurer. But are we ready and willing to assume the responsibility which such heavy legislation would impose? Are our lands sufficiently peopled? And are we prepared to compete and exchange the products of our soil and labor with all the world? But it is not my purpose to argue the merits of this stupendous scheme

gress, of less magnitude, but perhaps of more utility to a portion of the American people, is that of donating alternate sections of land for railroad purposes in particular States in which the land happens to be

Into pian has been argued, and I have listened to the logic of its friends with much pleasure, while they were demonstrating the constitutionality of such a course, contending that it is constitutional for Congress to make these grants, on the ground that it will not diminish the resources of the treasury; that by running a railroad through the land, granting every alternate section on the line of the road for six miles on either side for its construction, thereby the remaining present the section of the road for six miles on either side for its construction. struction, thereby the remaining sections will be in-creased to such an extent as to keep up the means of the treasury; that the object and interest of government is to settle its wild lands; that this plan will speedily do it. And my honorable friend from South Carolina [Mr. Oara] brings to his aid the opinions of two of our greatest statesmen, which were given in the debate in the Senate satisation, which were given in the decoate in the Senate in 1845 on the bill making donations of public lands to the State of Illinois, to strengthen his own position, and to show to us and the country that he is not blazing out a new and outraveiled path through the political forest. Hear their opinions on the powers given by the constitution to the country.

ion to the general government:

"Mr. CALBUR. I have seldom given a vote the result of which gratified me more than the vote which I gave on that ceasion. I then presided in that chair which you now occupy, and gave the casting vote. I take to myself, therefore, some share in the credit of that magnifices I improvement. Indeed, I do not think that there is a principle more perfectly clear from doubt than this one is. It does not belong to the category of internal improvements at all. It is not a power cleaned by the government, as a government it belongs to the government as a landed proprietor. And I will add, that it is not only a right but a duty, and an important day. Now, which has been considered an equitable arrangement between the government and the State which may undectake an improvement passing through the public lands? Long since, it was agreed that the grast of alternate sections was a fast contribution on the part of the United States would be a very great gainer. It appears to me to be an equitable arrangement; and I doubt whether, in any case, either of a causal or a railroad passing through the public lands, the United States will not be a gainer. If thus extend I am privared to go, be the road long or short If the long, you gain the more; if it be short, you gain the more; if it be short, you gain the sense and the land is a ceased to be a revenue, this argument cannot be applied.

why he would support the bill, said:

"This bill does not touch the question of internal improviment at all. It asserts no right on the part of this government to lay out a road, or to regulate the construction of a road. The federal government is a great landholder; it is road. The federal government is a great landholder; it is possesses an extensive public domain; and we have the power, under the constitution, to dispose of that domain; and a very unlimited power its. The simple question is, what disposition we may make of the public lands! No one will contend for the doctrine that we cannot give them say to a State. As the senator from Kentucky has said, every President has signed hills asserting the principle that these lands may be disposed of by the general government, without restriction as to the purpose of such disposition. We may bestow them for school purposes, or we may bestow a portion for the purpose of improving the value of the first. What right have you to sit still and see your lands towing to value, through the instrumentality of individuals, without property of the property of the value of the state.

to a constitutional issue made by the gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. Bansv.] in a more pointed manner maintained the constitutional power of Congress to dispose of a portion of the public domain to enhance the value of the remaining portion. He said: "I will answer the senator. The general government as no power to make any ratiford or canal through any Same; BUT THE DISPOSAL OF A FORTION OF THE FUELLY DO-RAIN TO RAINE THE REST IS CLEARLY WITHIN THE FOWER OF THIS GOVERNMENT."

States and Territories.	Acres undisposed
Ohio	
Indiana	1,049,680.
Illinois	8,219,628.
Missouri	26,635,589.
Alabama	15,486,849.
Mississippi	8,849,165.
Louisiana	
Michigan	20,011,143.
Arkansas	99,303,746.
Plorida	
lowa	25,661,550.
Wisconsin	24,506,994.
California	120,447,840.
Minnesota Territory	50,975,931,
Oregon Territory	
New Mexico Territory	197,383,040.
Utah Territory	
Northwest Territory	87,488,000
Nebraska Territory	
Indian Territory	
Total	1 400 679 305

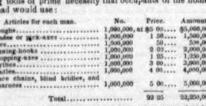
and leader, up to our time and day, no calling has anoraged to mankind, in so great a degree, that object which his nature lead him to seek, as the cultivation of the soil, the natural occupation of man, healthful and pleasant in its operations, profitable in its results, and independent in its character, calculated to nerve the arm to deeds of valor and of worth, while it operates powerfully on the faculties of the human mind, and expands and gives tone to all the nobler feelings of our nature. It has a tendency to calm and soothe our rough and troubled passions, and to mould them into virtue instead of vice. Indeed, the farmer who is regular in his habits—"early to bed and early to rise"—and like Socrates, lemperate in all things, must feel the effects of a mind pure as the morning breeze, conscious of its own rectitude and full of joy. Sir, these men constitute the heart of the republic—they are its life-blood! In those times when war was a principle in the politics of nations—when the greatest battles were fought, and the most brilliant victories achieved—we are told a plain farmer commanded the troops, themselves cultivators of the soil. And when we read of the splendid details of the Trojan war unreflectingly, we "associate with the title of prince all the pageantry of modern potentates" that were distinguished by similar titles. But in this history tells as we are wrong; for there was probably not a leader of all the Greeks who did not, like the father of Ulysses, assist in the farming operations with his own hands. Cincinnatus was summoned from the plough, standing in the Semnian ambassadors found Curus Dentatus cooking

C., suppose this system had been adopted in the earlier days of the republic, before the cossion of 1750, before the cossion cost of the links and the subscription of the Ohio to the Mississippi, and to the lakes, had been practically curried out previous the state had been practically curried out previous the state had been practically curried out previous the state had been productable to the thing of the cost of the cos

rainy day, or buy some of the luxuries of life, of which he has seldem or never before tasted.

In a dollar-and-cents point of view, as well as every other way, the government must derive great advantage. Our commerce will be augmented in a ratio proportioned to the rencouragement of agriculture, and the duty received thereon will be commensurate with the imports, which of course will be increased in proportion to the products exported.

But there are more and far higher views that might be taken of the subject. It is the duty of every well-regulated government, I hold, to make all laws and rules that will better the moral as well as physical condition of its citizens, as the one is as necessary and indispensable to its permanence and stability as the other. And I ask if hany plan more judicious can be conceived, that will tend more to elevate the man in his own mind, to better his moral neture, and alleviate his sufferings, than the one submitted by my honorable colleague, [Mr. Johnson.] It is a plan, if adopted, which must result in the happiest effect upon society in America; elevating and bettering the conditions of thousands now degraded; promoting industry; making all independent, and the ballot-box once more untrammelled, and giving a free exercise of the elective franchise. Sir, I believe if you pass this bill to encourage industry and agriculture, it will exercise a power uninfluence on the politics of the nation; it will strangle the spirit of consolidation; it will quench the corruptions that flow from moneyed powers, and restore that honesty and purity to the public mind, which it had in the earlier days of the republic. Sir, a radical change in the administration of the public lands is inevitable. Demonstrations from every quarter of the country proclaim it. Pass this bill, and you eradicate the seeds of death and dissolution from every quarter of the country proclaim it. Pass this bill, and you eradicate the seeds of death and dissolution of what these one million farmers would produce of them. To twenty bushels per acre, he will raise twenty times t wenty, or four hundred bushels: and one million, in the same ratio, would produce four hundred million bushels. Leaving the producer for his own use two hundred bushels of corn, and the balance of his entire crop of wheat, rye, oats, barley, potatoes, &c., &c., which is amply sufficient for his support, and then we have a surjust of corn for one war of four hundred millions of some of the control o



loss of wages occasioned by delay in obtaining appropriations for continuing the extension of the Capitol. The memorial was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings.

Mr. SOULE presented the memorial of James Reed, of New Orleans, praying the establishment of a tribunal to review the decisions of the late board of commissioners for the settlement of the claims of American citizens against Mexico; which was referred to the select committee appointed on that subject.

Mr. SEWARD presented a petition of citizens of Buffalo, in the State of New York, praying for the extension of Woodworth's patent for a planing machine; which was referred to the Committee on Patents and the Patent Office.

Mr. BRADBURY. I have received, Mr. President, and have been requested to present, resolutions of the legislature of Maine in relation to the abuses of passengers in California steamers. In submitting these resolutions, I deem it only necessary to say that I had anticipated the action of the legislature by the introduction of a resolution some two months ago, calling attention to the same subject; and a bill has already been reported by the Committee on Commerce, the object of which is to remedy all these evils complained of. I ask that the resolutions may be received, read, and printed.

Mr. BADGER presented the memorial of Ignatius Lucas, Samuel James, Charles Tilley, and Thomas S. Bingley, watchmen of the Navy Department, praying Coogress to grant them compensation for extra services.

Mr. B. said that their claim had been strongly recommended by several Secretaries of the Navy. The memorial was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. BROOKE presented instructions from the legislature of the State of Mississippi, in reference to an appropriation of a sum of money for the purpose of removing the mod or sand bar in the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of Pascagoula river; which were referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. B. also asked leave to submit the following resolution in reference to the matter; which was co

lution in reference to the matter; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved. That the Committee on Commerce be instructed to inquire into the expediency of removing the bar on the Gulf of Mexico, opposite the mouth of East Pascagoula river, to the State of Mississippi, and to report the probable cost of the same.

ble cost of the same.

Mr. DODGE, of lowa, presented the memorial of citizens of Lee county, lowa, praying the appointment of a commissioner to examine and settle all claims to land in the Sac and Fox half-breed reservation; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. D. also presented the memorial of citizens of Illinois, praying a donation of land to the State for the construction of a railroad from Burlington to the Missouri river; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

river; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. DOUGLAS presented a memorial of citizens of Macoupin, Illinois, praying that the bridges of the Belmont and Wheeling Bridge Company may be established as mail routes; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. DOUGE, of lowa, presented the memorial of inhabitants of Clayton, lowa, praying that the transportation of the mails on Sunday may be prohibited by law; which was referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Mr. DOUGLAS presented a petition of the officers of the Buel Institute, Illinois, praying the establishment of an Agricultural Bureau at Washington; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. SHIELDS presented the petition of Hannah Dutton, one of the heirs of William Douglas, a revolutionary officer, praying to be allowed bounty land; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

PAPERS WITHDRAWN AND REFERRED.

PAPERS WITHDRAWN AND REFERRED. Mr. SEBASITAN. At the last session of Congress I presented a memorial—which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs—of the widow and representatives of Lorenzo N. Clarke, deceased. The committee,

Mr. S., from the same committee, to whom was referred the memorial of certain non-commissioned officers of the regument of mounted riflemen, praying to be discharged from the terms of their enlistment on the ground of violated pledges, submitted a report asking to be discharged from the further consideration of the same; which was assented to

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from the further consideration of the same; agreed to, Mr. S., from the same committee, to whom was referred the memorial of Charles B. Bronever, late a lieutenant in the army, praying to be reinstated in the army, submitted a report, asking to be discharged from the further consideration of the same, at the same time expressing a regret that it was out of the power of the committee to afford the relief desired; which was agreed

to.

Mr. S., from the same committee, to whom was referred a memorial of merchants of San Antonio, Texas, praying that that place may be made a port of entry and debenture, and that goods which have been entered there, upon which the daties have been paid or secured, may be transported into Mexico with the privilege of drawback, submitted a report, asking to be discharged from the further consideration of the same, and that it be referred to the Committee on Commerce; which was agreed to.

ferred to the Committee on Commerce; which was agreed to.

Mr. S., from the same committee, to whom was referred a report of the Secretary of War in relation to the construction of a military road from Fort Dodge to Dubuque, in Iowa, submitted a report, asking to be discharged from the further consideration of the same; which was agreed to.

Mr. S., from the same committee, to whom was referred the letter of the Secretary of War in relation to the purchase of ground for a military depot in California, reported a bill (S. 326) to confirm the purchase of a tract of land for a military depot at Berrien, California; which was read, and passed to a second reading.

Mr. S., from the same committee, to whom was referred the memorial of Henry L. Kinney, praying for relief, reported a bill (S. 324) for the relief of Henry L. Kinney; which was read, and passed to a second reading.

lief, reported a bill (S. 324) for the relief of Henry L. Kinney; which was read, and passed to a second reading.

Mr. S. asked the unanimous consent of the Senate that the bill might be now considered.

No objection being made, it was read a second time, and considered as in committee of the whole.

Mr. S. I will state, Mr. President, if there is no objection, that seventy-two thousand dollars were appropriated at the last session to discharge the debts incurred in this way in Texas. This gentleman had raised a company, and was paid out of this appropriation for three months' service of the company, because he had the vouchers to show that the company had served three months. It was proved that the quartermaster was killed immediately after the company was discharged; and the vouchers for the remaining three months were lost. He was killed by the Indians as he was about to return his vouchers, and hence the vouchers were lost. The department, therefore, refused to pay without the vouchers for the remaining three months; and thus, although the company served for six months, they were only paid for three months' service, in consequence of the death of the quartermaster, as I have stated. The law making the appropriation required that they should not be paid without vouchers; and hence they are obliged to ask Congress to pass a bill to enable them to receive payment for the remaining three months. I think it is a clear case of justice.

No amendment being made, the bill was reported to the Senate, and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

Mr. FISH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to

the Senate, and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

Mr. FISH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the petition of petty officers and seamen on board the United States steamer Missouri at the time of her destruction by fire, praying commutation for clothing lost by that catastrophe, submitted a report, accompanied by a bill (S. 327) for the relief of the petty officers and seamen of the late United States frigate Missouri; which was read and passed to a second reading, and the report was ordered to be printed.

Mr. CLEMENS, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the memorial of Seneca G. Simmons, praying compensation for services as secretary to the Creek and Osage commissioners, submitted a report, asking to be discharged from the further consideration of the same, and that it be referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs; which was agreed to.

On Indian Abases, which was agreed to.

CLERK OF COMMITTEE OF CLAIMS.

Mr. BRODHEAD, from the Committee of Claims, reported the following resolution, and asked for its immediate consideration:

Resolved, That the cierk of the Committee of Claims be continued at the usual rate of compensation, and that he be allowed his compensation from the commencement of the present session, having been actually employed since that time.

No objection being made, it was read the first and sec No objection being made, it was read the first and second times, and ordered to the third reading.

Mr. HALE. How long does the resolution say the clerk shall be continued?

The PRESIDENT. It does not say.

Mr. BRODHEAD. I suppose it means during the ses-

Mr. BADGER. Put in the words "to the end of the

ession."
Mr. BRODHEAD. I have no objection to that.
The PRESIDENT. That being the pleasure of the
Senate, it will be so changed.
No objection being made, the resolution was amended

accordingly.

Mr. BADGER. I would also suggest to the senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRODHEAD] to strike out the words "having been actually employed from that time," and let the resolution be to pay the clerk from the commencement of the session. There is no need of the words

I have indicated.

Mr. BRODHEAD. I have no objection to that.

No objection being made, the resolution was so amend
ed, and then read the third time and passed.

SENECA G. SIMMONS.

Mr. CLEMENS. I am instructed by the Committe

Mr. CLEMENS. I am instructed by the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the case of Seneca G. Simmons, to make a report, accompanied by a bill. I shall ask to have the bill considered now. But, previous to doing so, I will ask to have the report read, as it is a short one.

The report was then read, showing that it was ascertained by a military commission, ordered to be held by General Cushing in Mexico, that large sums of money were intrusted to the keeping of Seneca G. Simmons, and he, not having an 100 sale, for which he had made a requisition, was obliged to keep it in a strong wooden box. In April, 184—, the room in which that box was kept was entered, the box broken open, and the sum of \$1,500 abstracted therefrom, to account and settle for which amount the committee report a bill for his relief.

Mr. CLEMENS. I wish to say simply that I think we can save time by disposing of bills as plain as this one when they are reported. I therefore ask for the immediate consideration of this bill.

No objection being made, the bill was then read the first and second times, considered in committee of the whole, reported to the Senate without amendment, and ordered to be engrossed for the third reading.

CLERK FOR THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON MEXICAN CLAIMS Mr. SOULE. The committee which was appointed by the Senate to examine into the matters relating to the settlement of Mexican claims by the board of commissioners on that subject, having disposed of those preliminary matters which were to precede the investigations intusted to them, are now ready to go on with their labors, and have instructed me to present the following resolution, which I ask may be considered at this time:

Revolved, That the select committee on the memorials in classon to the proceedings of the board of commissioners no claims against Maxico appoint a cierk, at the same rate f compensation as allowed to clerks of other committees

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent.

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED.

Mr. CHASE submitted the following resolution; which lies over one day, under the rule:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be in-tructed to inquire into the expediency of making the sala-y of each judge of a district court of the United States qual to that of any associate justice of the supreme court of the State in which the district may be established. RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

Mr. BORLAND submitted the following resolution which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed

Resolved. That the Committee on Public Buildings be instructed to inquire how far, and in what direction, the grounds around the Capitol will have to be extended in conformity with the plan of extension of the building that has been began; how much private property would be included in such extension of the grounds; and what amount of money would probably be required to purchase said private property, and make the necessary improvements of the grounds in consequence of the extension.

Mr. JONES, of Tennessee, submitted the following resolution: which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Lands be in

zens. It is said this scheme or plan will much enhance the

ill	"I will answer the senator. The general government	out of which the five noble States of Ohio, Michiga
29	mas me power to make any ratiroad or canal through any	Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, were formed, and no bearing a population of over four millions: support this idea had been practically carried out previous to that, then this brilliant galaxy of stars in the Nort west that now hangs so beautifully, shedding light up
4.	DIRECT BUT THE DISPOSAL OF A PORTION OF THE PUBLIC DO-	this idea had been practically carried out prayious to the
1	NAIN TO RAISE THE VALUE OF THE REST IS CLEARLY WITHIN THE POWSE OF THIS GOVERNMENT."	date, then this brilliant galaxy of stars in the Nort
		west that now hangs so beautifully, shedding light upo
re	While I respect the views of Mr. Cass and Mr. Cal- houn, at the same time I claim the privilege to differ	our political hemisphere, would be merged in the glo- rious constellation of the Old Dominion.
1	with them, if their notions come in contact with mine	rious constellation of the Old Dominion.
	with them, if their notions come in contact with mine, however humble. Upon this particular point I desire to	What were the conditions of the cession act of 1786
3.	the distinctly understood. I am not taking ground against	They were that the land when ceded to the Unit should be for the common benefit of all the States, a
ii.	the constitutionality of such a course; for I grant that	should be for the common benefit of all the States, as
T.	Congress has nower ceded by the constitution to dispose	not for the separate use and benefit of any particul State. The land conveyed by Virginia in 1784 was in tru for the benefit of the several States, Virginia includes which will be seen by the wording of the deed of ce
m	of the public property. But a power may exist, when it	for the benefit of the several States, Virginia include
nd	is impolitic to exercise that power; and I desire to show, if I can, that to adopt such partial legislation would be	which will be seen by the wording of the deed of ce
	if i can, that to adopt such partial legislation would be	sion executed by Virginia, which is as follows:
18	inexpedient, unjust, and hurtful to the interest of the gov-	"That all the lands within the territory so ceded to t
	ernment, because unequal. It certainly cannot be sustained on principle; it may be propped by policy. The former is, I believe, acknowleged, while the latter is contended for, but we think not sustained by the arguments adduced. That Congress has power to make all needful view and to discovere it be subject to the combiner of the contended to t	United States (and not reserved for certain uses specific
20	former is, I believe, acknowleged, while the latter is con-	shall be considered as a common tand for the use and be
	tended for, but we think not sustained by the arguments	efit of such of the United States as have become or sh become members of the confederation or federal allian
ve	adduced. That Congress has power to make all needful	of the said States. Virginia inclusive, according to the
ny	and the man is malayed of the brighte blob.	usual respective proportions in the general charge and e penditure, and shall be faithfully and bona fide disposed
n.	erry and lands, no one will pretend to deny. But is that	penditure, and shall be faithfully and bona fide disposed
he	power special or general? If not special, then it must be	for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whats ever."
Fe:	general, and consequently applied generally—not to one	
*	State, but to thirty-one States; and, as before said, if exer- cised at all, in this partial way, it must be upon policy and	And now to make large grants of land to particul States for their own use and benefit, in which they ha
	not upon principle. It was once the principle of the gov-	pen to lie, I contend is a violation of the ordinance
s,	ernment that the proceeds of the sales of the public lands	1780, and that there is no good faith in such a course.
b-	should go into the treasury to meet the national debt, not	But in the further extension of my remarks I desi
1	of the people of one State, but of the whole people of the	to bear more upon the subject under consideration, a
ect	United States. Since that is no longer necessary, we may	to inquire the extent of the landed estate held in chan by our national trustee. The number of acres und
ur	now abandon it, and adopt a new policy that may end in the	by our national trustee. The number of acres und
80	establishment of a new principle, sound or unsound. And	posed of on the 30th of June, 1851, may be seen fro
	we think the legislation tending to this new principle, to	a statement which I have had prepared by the Commi
R]	be sound, must be national in its character. Government may aid a particular State in its works of internal im-	sioner of the General Land Office, as follows:
1.1	provement of a national character without abandoning a	States and Territories. Aeres undisposed Ohio
lic	principle, while to aid it for a special purpose would only	Indiasa
of	principle, while to aid it for a special purpose would only require a change of policy. The former, when once es-	Illinois
is	tablished, may be abandoned-it cannot be changed;	Missouri 25,635,589 Alabama 15,485,849
by	while the latter may be formed, modified, and amended.	Alabama 15,485,849. Mississippi 8,849,165.
at	Are we to suppose that it was ever contemplated by the	Louistana 13,579,384 Michigan 20,011,143
ur	insertion of that clause in the constitution which the	Arkansas 92,303,746.
a-	honorable gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. ORR]	
n-	refers to "that Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting,	Lowa
ie.	the territory or other property belonging to the Holled	California 120,447,840.
ar	the territory or other property belonging to the United States"-I say, was it contemplated by this clause that	Minnesota Territory
nd	our general government would at any time assume the	Naw Merico Territory 197 383 040
to we	character of an arbitrary and landed proprietor, managing	Utah Territory. 113,589,013. Northwest Territory. 376,040,960.
al	its property for speculative purposes, to the detriment of	Utah Territory 113,589,013 Northwest Territory 376,040,950 Nebraska Territory 87,489,000 Indian Territory 119,789,440
lut	its best interest and that of its citizens? For, unless we	Indian Territory 119,789,440.
11	admit this fact, the arguments of honorable gentlemen	Total
he	must grow weak the closer we survey them. I contend that the government is a national trustee, holding the	From this table it may readily be seen to what Stat
ed	property in charge for the use and benefit of the whole,	the largest number of acres of the public land have be
od	having no delegated power to appropriate it to the use of	donated, and for what purposes. I will not go into the
ch	any one State exclusively, nor to an old State exclusive	donated, and for what purposes. I will not go into the figures in detail. All I desire to show in this connexion
ne	of a new, and the reverse. But I pass on from the con-	is the extent of the public domain, and that out of the
er-	stitutional question to consider this new policy. They	fourteen hundred millions of acres unsold and unappr
he	tell us the best interest of the government is to people its	priated, one hundred and sixty millions might be we
gs	wild lands—to bring the soil in contact with the plough;	donated to actual settlers. If it is the true interest of government to people h
ay	thereby to develop its strength and productive qualities. And we are told this alternate-section scheme, which	wild lands—to develop the strenth of her soil by tillar
d;	proposes to double the value of the remaining sections,	and agriculture—by combining the strength of man wi
ier	and to people them, will effect all these desirable results,	that of the soil—then this plan must meet our favorab
1-	while we contend that, to accomplish such ends, the price	consideration. It is general in its provisions; it is equ
he	of the land must be cheapened rather than increased. In	in its operations, resulting in a sure reward to honest in
nal	this conclusion we think the facts are plain, and sus-	dustry and a healthy influence to government. Agricu
35	tain us.	ture, in every age of the world, has been regarded the
he	It is not the policy of the government to double the	highest as well as the most useful and independent occ
ate	value of her lands; for, in doing so, the object and aim	pation of man. Since the days when the ploughma
be	of applying labor to her lands (without which they are of	was called from his unfinished furrow to head the arminof a great warlike people, and to be their statesman

From this table it may readily be seen to what States the largest number of acres of the public land have been donated, and for what purposes. I will not go into the figures in detail. All I desire to show in this connexion is the extent of the public domain, and that out of the fourteen hundred millions of acres unsold and unappropriated, one hundred and sixty millions might be well donated to actual settlers.

If it is the true interest of government to people her wild lands—to develop the strenth of her soil by tillage and agriculture—by combining the strength of man with that of the soil—then this plan must meet our favorable consideration. It is general in its provisions; it is equal in its operations, resulting in a sure reward to honest industry and a healthy influence to government. Agriculture, in every age of the world, has been regarded the highest as well as the most useful and independent occupation of man. Since the days when the ploughman was called from his unfinished furrow to head the armies of a great warlike people, and to be their statesman and leader, up to our time and day, no calling has afforded to mankind, in so great a degree, that object which his nature lead him to seek, as the cultivation of the soil, the natural occupation of man, healthful and pleasant in its of the land must be cheapened rather than increased. In it this conclusion we think the facts are plain, and sustain us.

It is not the policy of the government to double the bysue of her lands; for, in doing so, the object and aim of applying labor to her lands (without which they are of little value) is at once prevented by the lands being placed obeyond the reach of the working man. We agree that to people the wild lands as speedily as the laws of Nature and the necessities of society may require is subserving the true interest of government, and carrying out the intention of the framers of the constitution.

But the question upon which we differ is, that to grant alternate sections of land for railroad purposes to the new States in which the lands happen to lie, exclusive of the fold States that have coded, or the other States that have contributed to acquire that same land for the government, will not effect that end so generally as at first view we are led to believe. Here we take issue. The argument that by increasing there maining alternate sections on the line of a railroad in any new State, awhere the population is sparse and unfixed, thereby you do not diminish the resources of the treasury, I of think incorrect. My opinion is founded upon the fact that in proportion as you increase the value of a particular class of your land, by running a railroad through it, in the same proportion you diminish the demand, price, and sale of lands in the other portion of the State and country distant from the line of railroad. This assertion I propose to sustain by the argument of honorable gentlemen reversed; because you cannot coastruct railways through all your public lands: if you could, or if there were no more public lands unsettled than those on the lines of roads now projected, then the reasoning would be more plausible. But such is not the case. Government owns much more than that, and requires such legislation as will operate as equally as possible upon its cati-